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582 583 612 All abduct the wives of (*d*), and vice versa. Both Magamiya and Kofo are of foreign origin, but no reason was assigned for the difference in treatment accorded to each. It is said that in bygone days (*a*) and (*b*) used to abduct the wives of (*c*), but the practice was abandoned when (*c*) became numerically strong. (*a*) and (*b*) have at no time eloped with each others' wives, because they consider themselves to be blood-relatives. In the sub-clan of Fakan the only communities which may elope with each others' wives are the towns of Zonzon and Sako. But the Bobai kindred of Zonzon will not elope with the wife of any Sako man, and vice versa, on the ground of blood-relationship. There does not appear to be any wife abduction between the sub-divisions of Shokwa. As regards Aku, the Akuzan and Akuchan do not elope with each others' wives, but I omitted to obtain information as to the conduct of these two sections towards the third section, viz. Asalio.

● 601 *Terms of Relationship and Social Regulations.*—The terms of relationship of the Katab tribe are given in the following lists. The terms are used by both males and females, except where otherwise stated :—

Atio is applied to a father, father's brothers, mother's brothers (for whom the term *angat* is also used), father's and mother's sister's husband, husband's father, husband's father's brother, and husband's mother's brother.

Ayang is applied to a mother, father's sisters, mother's sisters, father's and mother's brother's wife, husband's mother, father's co-wife.

Ngwan is applied to a son, daughter, brother's child, sister's child, husband's brother's child, wife's brother's child, husband's sister's child, wife's sister's child, brother's son's wife.

Nanyuk is applied to full or half-brothers and sisters, father's brother's child, father's sister's child, mother's brother's child, mother's sister's child. It is also a general term for " relative ". Elder and younger brothers (or sisters), are distinguished by the terms *nhwop* (or *neohwop*) and *shisho*. The term *ngwanaiyuk*, i.e. child of my brother (or sister), is a more particular term to describe nephews and nieces.

Atio-hwop is applied to father's or mother's father, father's mother's brother, father's father's brother, mother's mother's brother, mother's father's brother. The term *nungvanu* or " wife stealer " is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply that term to him. A female applies the term *atuok* or " husband " to all relatives classed as *atiohwop* and they apply to her the term *aviyuk* or " wife ".

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Ayang-okwop is applied to a father's or mother's mother, father's father's sister, father's mother's sister, mother's father's sister, mother's mother's sister. The term *aviyuk* or "wife" is also applied by a male to all relatives classed as *ayangowhop* and, they apply to them the term of *atuok* or "husband". A female applies the term *ofob* or "rival wife" to all relatives classed as *ayangowhop*, and they apply the same term to her.

Kambwon is the general term for grandchild, e.g. a son's or daughter's child (m. or f.), brother's son's or daughter's child, sister's son's or daughter's child.

Aniat is applied to a daughter's husband, sister's daughter's husband.

Angat (*ayat*) is a special term applicable to a mother's brother or father, who use the term *kanio* for a sister's or daughter's child.

Aniang is applied to a son's wife or sister's son's wife.

Okwang is applied to a wife's father or mother, and their brothers and sisters.

Yekwop is applied to a husband's father or mother, and their brothers and sisters.

Ojam is applied to a wife's brother or sister, a wife's sister's husband, and a sister's husband.

Ashin is applied to a husband's brother or sister and a brother's wife.

Ofob is applied to rival wife, husband's brother's wife, all females classed by a woman as *kambwon* or *ayangohwop*.

Aviyuk is applied to a wife, a brother's wife (male speaking), all females classed by a man as *kambwon* or *ayangohwop*, a husband's grandfather.

Atuok is applied to a husband, husband's brother, all relatives classed by a woman as *atiohwop* and all males classed by a woman as *kambwon*.

It is noteworthy that the terms *ojam*, *ashin*, *nungvan*, and *ofob* are used reciprocally, and that a son's wife's parents and daughter's husband's parents are addressed simply by their personal names. Also that, while a woman addresses her parents-in-law as mother and father, a man may not address his parents-in-law in this way. The large number of terms used for the "in-law" relations is also remarkable and possibly indicates impact with a foreign culture. (In Bolewa and Hausa, etc., a single term covers all senior relatives by marriage.) Descriptive terms are used in order to make the precise relationship clear. Thus a father's brother, who would ordinarily be referred to as *atie-nu* "my father"), would be more precisely described as *nanyuk atienu* (i.e. "brother of my father").

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It will be observed that the Katab system of relationship terminology is of the classificatory type; that is to say that all

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601 relatives of the speaker's own generation (viz. brothers, sisters, cousins) are classed together as *nanyuk*, those of the generation above (viz. father, mother, their brothers, sisters, and cousins) as *atio* (fem. *-ayang*), those of the generation below (viz. sons, daughters, and their several cousins) as *ngwan*, and so on. This system of classification by seniority is not confined to blood relatives, but is applied generally to all members of the clan,[1] who consider themselves kin by virtue of descent from a common ancestor. Thus an Aku will address any other Aku who is of a senior generation as *atio* (or father), of a generation below as *ngwan* (son), of two generations below as *kambwon* (grandchild), of two generations above as *atiohwop* (grandfather), and of the same generation as *nanyuk*, a term which carries with it a prohibition of intermarriage. It is interesting to note here that one effect of elopement marriages is that half-brothers by the same mother may sometimes belong to different clans, and that the term *nanyuk* is thus sometimes applicable to a person who is not a fellow-clansman.

601 582 [587] Further, the relationship terminology is fundamentally influenced by the existing social relations. The application by a man of the term *aviyuk* or "wife" to his brother's wife or his grandfather's widow implies that those relatives are marriageable, as is actually the case, for both the senior and junior levirate are practised, and the inheritance of a paternal grandfather's widow is permissible, though of rare occurrence. (It is to be noted, however, that though a grandfather addresses a granddaughter as "wife" he cannot nowadays, if he ever could, marry her; and also that, although a man may inherit his father's widow, other than his own mother, he cannot address his father's wife as *aviyuk* or "wife". Marriageability is not, therefore, always indicated by the nomenclature. The term *nungvan* or "wife abductor", which males apply to all their grandsons, is also clearly a playful reference to the custom which permits a man to inherit the young widow of his paternal grandfather, excluding, of course, the mother of his own father. On the same principle the term *nungvan* is applied by males of one sub-clan to males of another sub-clan (of their own clan), for any male of one sub-clan may abduct the wife of any male of

[1] But clan groups between whom elopement with wives is practised use the special terminology indicated in the following paragraph.

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another sub-clan (of his own clan). The playmate relationship does not, therefore, subsist between two men of different divisions of the same clan, for men who are *nungvan* to one another are not on too friendly terms. And so a Fakan of the Minyam clan will never engage in a "Shero"[1] contest with an Aswen of the Minyam clan, but he will with a Kpaisa of the Agbat clan. Again a member of one clan calls any member of another, who is of the same seniority, his *ojam*, i.e. wife's brother (or sister), because he may marry into that clan. If the member of the other clan is of a senior generation he would describe him as *okwang* or parent-in-law. When certain members of the Agbat and Minyam clans were asked how they would describe the Aku and Shokwa clans, who both marry the daughters and steal the wives of members of other clans, they said they would apply the term *ojam* or *nungvan* according to the circumstances of the individual case.

The word for great-grandson if *kambonto*, which seems to mean "third birth". But he is also known as *tabar fufwo* or "touch the ear", an expression similar to that found among the Hausa and Ashanti. The meaning of this expression is obscure, and no explanation could be offered by the Katab. It is possibly to be explained in the following remark by M. Junod in writing of the Ba-Ronga[2]: "A very old man holds his son in his arms, his grandson on his thigh, and his great-grandson on his knees," the Katab reversing the order, so that the great-grandson plays with the old man's ear. This would not explain the Ashanti belief that a touch on the ear by a great-grandson causes speedy death, and it may be that the expression is the outcome of some sociological custom, which may be discovered by inquiries among other tribes. It is noteworthy that, although a man and his grandfather are playmates, a man and his great-grandfather are not.

The classification of the mother's father with the mother's brother under the common term of *angat* is natural to the Katab, who scarcely differentiate between these two relatives. For he can go to their compound and appropriate whatever he pleases from either, and if he is ill he may take up his abode with them until his health is restored. M. Junod notes that among the

[1] See p. 58.
[2] Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, vol. i, p. 222.

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Ronga of South Africa, although there are two separate terms for mother's father and mother's brother, they are frequently confused by the native in conversation. The confusion or rather identification is merely the result of the tendency to extend to a group the type of behaviour which is manifested towards one particular member of that group.

A word may be said here about the Katab custom of marriage with the widow of a grandfather and father, to which reference has already been made. Marriage with the grandfather's widow does not appear to be connected with reincarnation ideas, nor to have followed in the wake of a former grandfather-grand-daughter marriage system of which there is no evidence among the Katab or any other Nigerian tribe, unless we are to make the precarious assumption that such marriages must have existed at one time because a Katab grandfather to-day addresses his grand-daughter as " wife ". It appears to be the result merely of the conception of women as heritable property. Marriage with the grandfather's widow is common in Africa and in parts of Melanesia. It is even found among some of the Muslim peoples of Nigeria in the form known as " auren salla ", though in this type of marriage the intention appears merely to secure old women from being left destitute, for no sexual relations take place. Among the Katab and neighbouring tribes marriage with the grandfather's widow is confined to young widows of the paternal grandfather or his brothers, and is of course exclusive of the father's mother. It is a marriage of such rare occurrence that I was only able to obtain two instances at second-hand. Interesting relationships are set up by such marriages, e.g. a man may be another's grand-nephew and half-brother at the same time. When asked whether such a person would call the other *atiohwop* (grandfather) or *nanyuk* (brother), the answer was interesting, and was that he could do either as grandfathers and brothers are on precisely the same social footing, a fact which is one of the most noteworthy features of negro life and is exemplified in the playmate relationship, the common sharing of meals, and various other social regulations. A woman even calls her husband's grandfather " husband ".

Instances of the inheritance of the father's (or father's brother's) widow are of more frequent occurrence, and the way in which the relationship terminology is affected as

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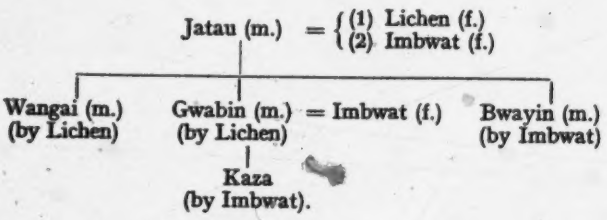
a result of such inheritance is illustrated in the following example :—



On the death of his father (Jatau), Gwabin inherited Imbwat, and begat a son Kaza. Bwayin thus occupied the double position of being Kaza's paternal uncle and also his half-brother by the same mother. How did Kaza address Bwayin? The answer was that although Kaza might refer to Bwayin as *nanyuk* (brother) he was bound to address him as *atio* (father) on the ground (*a*) that Bwayin might succeed Gwabin one day as head of Kaza's household, (*b*) that Kaza might one day inherit Bwayin's widow, and (*c*) that Bwayin may not "play" with Kaza's wife. Gwabin, who has now become the husband of Bwayin's mother, continues to call Bwayin his "brother" (*nanyuk*). On the other hand, Wangai, who formerly called Imbwat *ayang* or "mother", now calls her *aviyuk* or "wife", and if Gwabin dies he may inherit her. It is noteworthy that a man addresses his father's co-wife as "mother" until he inherits her. This does not bear out Dr. Rivers' contention that the fact that men address one another as parents and children provides the clearest of all possible indications that they are ineligible as consorts in marriage.[1]

Before leaving the subject of the relationship terminology, a few words may be said about the playmate relationship and the use of personal names. The playmate relationship is a social institution found among many primitive peoples, notably those of Africa, Melanesia, and North America. It is practised among certain classes of relatives between whom the strict rules of etiquette governing social intercourse are so relaxed that they display towards one another an attitude of joking familiarity. In Nigeria and among most Negro peoples the principal relatives

[1] *History of Melanesian Society*, ii, 39.

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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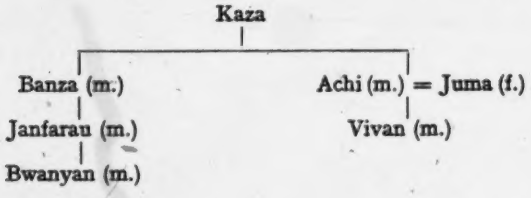
Kachichere

"madaiki" or second-in-command is a member of the Chobiam. Each kindred has a *magaji elenowum* of its own, but for the whole community there is a single *obwai* priest and a single rain-maker, the former belonging to the Tabin, and the latter to the Tiat. The rain-maker is known as the Atun Yevwo and performs his rites on the top of a hill. He also carries out rites to put a stop to blights by sprinkling digitaria millet on the farms.

Apart from the prohibition of wife abduction from members of their own tribe, the Kachichere marriage-laws closely resemble those of the Katab. Every Kachichere child has, however, to be redeemed from the mother's family by a graduated scale of payments, the existing scale being 5*s*. for the first child, 4*s*. for the second, 3*s*. for the third, and so on.

The widows of a father or grandfather are heritable, and the following example of a "grandmother" marriage was obtained :—



On Achi's death Bwanyan inherited Juma, i.e. he inherited the widow of his grandfather's brother. Bwanyan was a mere lad and Juma was past the age of child-bearing, but Bwanyan slept regularly with Juma, and performed all the duties incumbent on a husband. If, for example, any aged member of Juma's family died, Bwanyan was required to send a goat for sacrifice to the senior member of Juma's family. The relationship terminology in use before the marriage was continued afterwards. Janfarau, for instance, continued to call Juma "Mother"; he did not adopt the rôle of "father-in-law" to Juma. Bwanyan similarly continued to call Vivan "Father". But had Juma borne a child to Bwanyan, Janfarau would have treated the child as a grandson and not as a brother.

The Kachichere speak the same language as the Katab.

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Kaje

maternal first, second, or third cousins. It would appear that there is a tendency for the village-area exogamous group to identify itself with a certain animal. The people of Kurmin Bi bury their dead in the skin of a leopard on the ground that the leopard is their relative and that they become leopards at death. It was said that the people of Zonkwa for the same reason bury their dead in the skin of a red monkey, and those of Madauchi in the skin of a cat. The people of Fadia were said to wrap their dead first in a leopard's skin and then in that of a red monkey, possibly because they are of mixed origin. Unfortunately time did not allow me to follow up this line of inquiry.

Wife-abduction is not permitted between members of the same confederacy, i.e. a Baiduang may not steal the wife of a Baiduang. But normally a member of one confederacy may elope with the wife of a member of any other confederacy, e.g. a Bainturu may elope with the wife of a Banewhan. There are exceptions, however, to this rule, for two towns belonging to different confederacies may, if they are situated close to each other, agree together not to elope with each other's wives. Thus the men of Kurmin Bi (Baiduang) refrain from abducting the wives of men of Fadan Kaje (Baintso) and vice versa, on the ground that these two villages are situated close to each other. Similarly the men of Fadia (Baintso) refrain from eloping with the wives of the men of Zonkwa (Baiduang). A Zonkwa man also avoids eloping with the wives of men of Tsofon Gidda (Baintso) and vice versa. We can see here a process going on which might quite conceivably result in the Baiduang and Baintso becoming two intermarrying exogamous clans.

The Kaje relationship terminology is practically the same as that of the Katab except for the dialectical differences, which are as follows:—

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Atio	Ati (possessive atienzuk)
Ayang	Na
Ngwan	Kawon
Nanyuk	Awum
Atiowhop	Atiokwop
Ayangowhop	Nakwop
Kambwon	Kambwon
Aniat	Anian

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Kaje

Katab.	*Kaje.*
Aniang	Akumbwon
Okwang	Okwon
Yekwop	Atukwon
Ojam	Odzam
Ashin	Afin
Aviyuk	Afi
Angat	Ati (= father)
Neowhop	Neokwon
Nungvan	Aranduan

It will be seen that the principal difference lies in the special term Akumbwon used by the Kaje for a son's wife. The informants were unable to explain the meaning of this term, but stated that it had no connection with the word *kambwon*, signifying grandchild.

The inheritance and marriage of the paternal grandparent's widows is, as among the Katab, permissible, and it was also stated that the inheritance of a maternal grandparent's widow was also permissible in the case of a lad who had taken up his residence with his maternal grandfather. Inheritance of a father's or father's brother's widows is common (as also among the Katab). There is no special term for cross-cousin (as there is among the Kurama) and a Kaje appears to be playmates with his ortho-cousins equally with his cross-cousins. As among the Katab, so also among the Kaje, the second child born to a married couple has to be ransomed from the wife's parents.

KAJE

1. Head	dechu	dɪtʃu
2. Hair	bonkwon	bonkwɔn
3. Eye	disi	dɪsɪ
Two eyes	asu ahwa	asuahwa
4. Ear	tuwo	tuwo
Two ears	atwo ahwa	atwo ahwa
5. Nose	zuai	zuai
6. One tooth	dingi tirung	dɪŋɪ tirug
Five teeth	anyi atfwon	anji atfwɔn
7. Tongue	diriam	dɪrɪam
8. Neck	tuwa	tuwa
9. Breast (woman's)	dibiam	dɪbɪam

2: Gunn E-4 (no date) 1956 FF38 Katab FF38

601 On the basis of Meek's table of kinship terms (*Northern Tribes*, II, pp. 26–7), Murdock has classified Katab terminology as " Normal Guinea " (comparable with, among others, the Chawai): according to Meek, it is identical with the Kagoro, and, save for dialectal differences, with the Kaje.

LOCAL ORGANS OF AUTHORITY: LEGAL PROCEDURE

613 793 622 The information available is somewhat confused. At the bottom of the scale the head of the compound or cluster of related compounds[21] seems to have considerable authority. Meek, however, indicates that the basic unit of authority is the lineage, each of which has a recognized social and religious chief, the *elenowum* (or *magajin elenowum*), a member of that branch of the lineage " which has always held the hereditary position of comptroller " of the lineage. He is not necessarily the oldest member; he may be and often is junior to other members of other branches of the lineage, but that does not lessen his authority. He is the chief priest and was formerly the custodian of human skulls taken in war; he is appealed to on all matters of custom, rank and seniority, but has no authority in political matters as the political chiefship always runs in another branch. The civil chief might, however, ask his advice or report to him the steps he had taken. The advice of the *elenowum* may be disregarded, but his " supposed magical powers would in the end conquer." Meek goes on to say that if the lineage consists of more than one extended family, each has also its head.

613 624 In addition to the social and political headships there are various other hereditary headships, always in different branches of the lineage. Among these Meek includes officers in charge of the *obwai* cult and the rain cult (see *Religion*, below), hunting " and the preparation of arrow poisons " (perhaps also the administration of the poison ordeal?), and another officer in charge of the young men " sending them out in a body to work on roads or to take part in a day's collective work on a farm, or to provide music at a festival, and so on " (possibly the same as the head of the *obwai* cult?). In general, Meek states, the lineages are fairly well localized in villages and hamlets, in any one of which, however, members of lineages other than the principal one may reside.

621 648 In Fulani times and earlier the village hamlet was apparently the basic unit of administration. To all appearances, in pre-Fulani times the chiefs of Kajuru, Kauru and Zaria were rivals in the territory occupied by members of the Katab Group. After the Fulani conquest, the situation remained complex owing to the rise of a Fulani Emirate at Jema'a Daroro, but Kajuru was eliminated from the lists, and Kauru was firmly affixed to Zaria Emirate, with the Katab tribal area " as an appendage." The Makama of Zaria became the chief of Kauru's " patron " at the court of the Emir, and the Galadiman Makama is said to have accompanied the chief of Kauru annually to Zangon Katab, " when tribute, in the form of slaves, was collected town by town." Meek adds that in matters of tribute the Kauru chiefs apparently dealt direct with each village, ignoring the clan organization, " but for purposes of such general administration as existed, a headman was appointed for each sub-clan, and his fealty sworn on the sacred sword [of the chief of Kauru]." The sub-clan head had little authority and nothing to do with the assignment or collection of taxes, but he was " the mouthpiece of the Kauru rulers," and could summon village and sub-clan heads to discuss matters of administration. He could deal with minor offences, but all important matters were referred to Kauru. According to Meek, the civil chief of the village or, more accurately, of the lineage, occupied a position " even more unenviable "; it was his business to apportion tax, which might be a horse or a slave or several according to the size of the village [lineage]. He also had to arrest criminals and send them to Kauru.[22] Apart from

[21] Meek's " extended family ": see particularly Meek's description of the household.

[22] Zangon Katab was the site of an important slave-market: it is recorded that the Birom of the High Plateau disposed of certain categories of criminals through sale to Irigwe middlemen, who in turn sold them in Zango. (See also *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern*